

call American war crimes. In an earlier encounter during my visit to Hanoi, Colonel Lau had described American depredations against his country in the harshest terms. He had flung out his words contemptuously, the way a Spaniard spits. But at dinner he was another person. We talked about President Nixon's visit to China and his trip to the Great Wall. I said that the President's comments had not been distinguished but that it was hard to know how an American President should respond to the sight of the Great Wall. Someone suggested that he should have written a poem. "Better a song," Colonel Lau put in. He said that songs were particularly suitable to memorable places. He said there was one song that always reminded him of Paris. It was sung by an American, Josephine Baker. Did I know it? And suddenly the severe military man, who sometimes, in the fury of his nationalism, affected not to speak French, began to sing, in a voice that wasn't at all bad:

"J'ai deux amours
Mon pays et Paris . . ."

The next day, an interview was arranged with Nguyen Dinh Thi, a writer, whose work ranges from a critique of Aristotle to a song that the national radio uses as its theme. One of his novels, "The Dike That Exploded," was a best-seller. As secretary of the Writers' Union, he has been in touch with literary figures the world over. Yevtushenko had been his guest during a visit to Vietnam. "I liked him very much," Thi said. "But he is an actor. I told him, 'You are the Don Quixote of world literature.'" Thi told me that "by tradition and wisdom and the teachings of Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people have developed a spirit of bitter intransigence in a fight." He went on, "Our people are performing now as the victims of barbarism. I regret that you haven't seen another side of us. We are poor. We are used to a hard life. We have typhoons every year. We do the back-breaking work of cultivating rice. Our tradition is that everybody helps everybody else. We respect literature more than war in our country, and there has never been a military caste here, as there was in Japan. An expression we use all the time is '*Tinh thuong*,' which means a combination of pity, compassion, and love. We know that we live on the edges of the great powers. We see that we have to be prudent and modest. We have a great sense of humanity, a sense of the pity of humanity."

At a reception the day after that, I met Ton That Tung, a distinguished surgeon and a relative of the former emperor Bao Dai. Among other things, Dr. Tung has translated into French the works of To Huu, a leading contemporary poet, who works in the Secretariat of the Workers' Party. I told Dr. Tung that some of his countrymen seemed peculiarly harsh to me—as if fighting were the only way they know of to achieve things. I asked him if there was anything that he found unique in the Vietnamese personality. He said, "You should notice that when we entertain we never lord it over people—we put them wholly at ease. And we don't have religious disputes; except when foreigners were involved, we had toleration for all religions."

He asked me what other impressions I had of North Vietnam. I said something about the need to end the war. Feeling that to be banal, I added that the two sides seemed so far apart and that there was so little mutual trust that I was pessimistic about a settlement. Dr. Tung was not so pessimistic. He said, "I know your people are tired of the war. Do you think our people want to go on fighting forever?"

I found that leaving Hanoi was almost as hard as getting there. Only four regular planes a week come to Hanoi: two small Chinese planes with chancy connections through Nanning to Canton and Hong Kong;

an Ilyushin 18, run by Aeroflot, which goes out through Laos; and a converted Second World War Stratoliner, which is run by the International Control Commission set up at the Geneva Conference of 1954, and which also goes out through Laos. Bad weather forced two cancellations, but finally I left aboard the Russian airliner. My chauffeur, my interpreter, and a woman guide from the Foreign Ministry who had supervised my entire trip all came out to the Gia Lam airport to escort me through customs and wait for the plane to take off. As we sipped beer and lemonade in the departure lounge, a good cross-section of the foreign diplomats and journalists stationed in Hanoi passed in review. They are cut off from normal Vietnamese life by the language barrier and various restrictions, including the prohibition against driving cars.

Much as settlers in the West used to arrange their lives around the pony express, the foreign colony in Hanoi orders its life around the planes from the outside world. Among those I saw were an Arab diplomat, who assured me that a particularly tough statement put out the night before by the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry was done for "domestic consumption," and an East European diplomat, who said the statement showed that revisionism was finally taking hold in Hanoi. A military attaché observed that he had recently been counting the number of anti-aircraft guns parked along the road from Hanoi to Gia Lam; it was down from ninety-six a week ago to sixty-two—a probable sign that the guns had been moved south toward the front. A West European diplomat observed that through the Paris peace negotiations had resumed, they would probably not get anywhere, because the North Vietnamese did not feel for Nixon the kind of trust they felt for Pierre Mendès-France, who negotiated the Geneva settlement back in 1954. I also saw a Russian diplomat, with whom I shared a bomb shelter at the Foreign Ministry during an air-raid alert, and a Soviet journalist—one of two indistinguishable heavies representing *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, who were known as the speakers of English in Hanoi as Mutt and Jeff. As each of these passing acquaintances talked, my guide drew for me on a napkin the ideograms used to denote their countries. I asked her to draw the characters for America. She did, and then she said, "Literally, the characters mean 'beautiful country.' I wish you Americans would stop behaving in a way that is—I won't say it. I wish you would start behaving again in a way that is beautiful."

JOSEPH KRAFT.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT— APPROVAL OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries, and he announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts and joint resolutions:

On August 19, 1972:

S.J. Res. 260. Joint Resolution to suspend until March 1, 1973, the effectiveness of certain amendments made by the Education Amendments of 1972 to the Guaranteed Student Loan Program.

On August 20, 1972:

S. 484. An act to designate the Scapegoat Wilderness, Helena, Lolo, and Lewis and Clark National Forests, in the State of Montana; and

S. 3645. An act to further amend the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948.

On August 22, 1972:

S. 559. An act for the relief of Albinilla Lucio Z. Manluacu;

S. 596. An act to require that international agreements other than treaties, hereafter entered into by the United States, be transmitted to the Congress within sixty days after the execution thereof;

S. 2704. An act for the relief of Rita Rosella Valleriani; and

S. 2854. An act to amend title 28, United States Code, relating to annuities of widows of Supreme Court Justices.

On August 25, 1972:

S. 2166. An act to authorize the establishment of the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site in the State of Montana, and for other purposes; and

S. 3159. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to establish the John D. Rockefeller, Junior, Memorial Parkway, and for other purposes.

On August 28, 1972:

S.J. Res. 182. Joint Resolution authorizing the President to invite the States of the Union and Foreign Nations to participate in Farmfest—U.S.A. and the World Plowing Contest in September 1972.

On August 29, 1972:

S. 3726. An act to extend and amend the Export Administration Act of 1969 to afford more equal export opportunity, to establish a Council on International Economic Policy, and for other purposes;

S. 3824. An act to authorize appropriations for the fiscal year 1973 for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and for making grants for construction of noncommercial educational television or radio broadcasting facilities; and

S.J. Res. 213. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation designating October 6, 1972, as "National Coaches Day".

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the President pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, each with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 3490. An act to authorize and request the President to issue annually a proclamation designating August 26 of each year as "Women's Rights Day"; and

S. 3755. An act to amend the Airport and Airway Development Act of 1970, as amended, to increase the United States share of allowable project costs under such Act; to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended, to prohibit certain State taxation of persons in air commerce, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bill and joint resolutions, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 8215. An act to provide relief for certain prewar Japanese bank claimants;

H.J. Res. 135. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue a proclamation designating the week in November of 1972 which includes Thanksgiving Day as "National Family Week";

H.J. Res. 1080. Joint resolution providing

the observance of "Youth Appreciation Week" during the seven-day period beginning November 13, 1972;

H.J. Res. 1193. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week which begins on September 24, 1972, as "National Microfilm Week";

H.J. Res. 1227. Joint resolution approval and authorization for the President of the United States to accept an Interim Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Certain Measures With Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms; and

H.J. Res. 1263. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim October 30, 1972, as "National Sokol U.S.A. Day".

HOUSE BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS REFERRED

The following bill and joint resolutions were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 8215. An act to provide relief for certain prewar Japanese bank claimants;

H.J. Res. 135. Joint resolution to authorize the President to issue a proclamation designating the week in November of 1972 which includes Thanksgiving Day as "National Family Week";

H.J. Res. 1080. Joint resolution providing the observance of "Youth Appreciation Week" during the 7-day period beginning November 13, 1972; and

H.J. Res. 1193. Joint resolution to provide for the designation of the week which begins on September 14, 1972, as "National Microfilm Week"; and

H.J. Res. 1263. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim October 30, 1972, as "National Sokol U.S.A. Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.J. Res. 1227. Joint resolution approval and authorization for the President of the United States to accept an Interim Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Certain Measures With Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

OUTRAGE AT MUNICH OLYMPIC GAMES

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the shooting at Munich is incredible. Holding citizens of Israel as hostages and attempting to halt the Olympic games so that the Arabs can get their way is unbelievable.

The actions by these irresponsible persons, coming during an event being watched by the free world and others, are vile and barbaric.

The Olympic games have been cast over the years as being nonpolitical. Representatives of other countries, whether in tune ideologically or on the other side, have always been able to put their differences aside to compete. This wholesome activity brings us closer to lasting peace.

But the shooting at Munich can set back all of these gains.

It is hoped that all nations will condemn this barbaric action.

Perhaps the United Nations can summon enough courage to join in condemnation of this inhumanity.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the distinguished minority leader yield?

Mr. SCOTT. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I wish to join the distinguished Republican leader in the

remarks he has just made, about the reprehensible and outrageous events which have occurred at the Olympic games in reference to the killing and detention of the Israeli athletes by Arab terrorists.

It is outrageous. It is reprehensible.

I would suggest most seriously that the Olympic games be canceled in memory of those who have been killed as a result of what has happened there.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the distinguished majority leader yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I should like to associate myself both with the majority and minority leaders. This is piracy against the civilized world. The world simply cannot tolerate this kind of lawlessness. I say this without regard to the ideology or social order of any nation—Communist or free.

Mr. President, the last time a dread event like this occurred, the massacre at the Tel Aviv Airport, a high official in the Arab world expressed sympathy with the terrorists. This was hardly designed to discourage them.

I hope that the world will take careful note and hold strictly to account any nation—Arab or otherwise—which gives sanctuary or in any way gives implicit or express approval to these murderers—and that is all they are.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD my statement in the Senate Chamber last June 6 relating to the previous outrage.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF MR. JAVITS

I wish to note that this very morning a United States Air Force plane is bringing back to Puerto Rico the bodies of 16 murdered Puerto Rican Christians who were engaged in a religious pilgrimage to Israel. They were massacred by pro-Arab terrorists at the Tel Aviv airport. This is an outrage that resulted in more than 100 persons being killed or wounded. The citizens of Puerto Rico are American citizens. They serve in the armed forces of the United States, and they are part of our country as much as are the citizens of any State.

These 16 Americans were ostensibly protected by our flag. The responsibility which we have to Americans who travel abroad may well be proven to be devoid of real substance unless our Government does something to dramatize to other governments that we will not countenance airborne terrorism and that we will not countenance any explicit support for such terrorism by any country which has friendly relations with the United States.

I think that the world is appropriately appalled that any people, let alone any nation, would claim credit for such a dreadful and brutal mass murder as took place in the Tel Aviv airport. But credit is being claimed by people in Lebanon who live or who are at least harbored there, and who seem to be training and arming for such international forays.

There was even some satisfaction expressed in Lebanon that this act had been done. We have not seen anyone arrested by Lebanese authorities as a collaborator for this crime, although Arab terrorist organizational spokesmen have come forward and claimed credit publicly for this deed in an office operated openly in downtown Beirut. We heard of a press announcement by an Arab organization's spokesman in

Beirut who said, "Our purpose was to kill as many people as possible."

In addition to this, we have the second highest official in Egypt, the Premier of that nation, commenting upon this murder of innocent people in Tel Aviv, including 16 American citizens, that the deed proved, "that we are able to achieve victory over Israel." Actually, the incident proved nothing except that fanatics could be seduced into performing mass murder against innocent travelers.

In my judgment, the United States should require from the government of Lebanon a full accounting of what takes place on its soil involving the murder of Americans. We must demand an investigation to prove or disprove the complicity of those harbored of Lebanese territory in this terrible crime.

What I am seeking to emphasize today is the fact that we are dealing with the killing of American air travelers and not with Arab-Israeli relations. We are dealing with the claim that this terrorism and murder originated from Lebanon with which we are friendly, and the statement by the Number Two Man of Egypt that he derives great satisfaction from it. I do not believe the United States can tolerate this wanton barbarism which has resulted in the killing of 16 Americans. There are steps we can take.

We maintain friendly relations with Lebanon and Egypt. American commercial airplanes travel to each of these countries, as do the airlines of the world.

I think our Government has a duty and a responsibility to get to the bottom of the matter of involvement of Lebanon and Egypt, and, if necessary, to cancel or cause our airlines to cancel international flights to both Lebanon and Egypt. In addition, both of these countries solicit American tourism and there is a question whether American tourists should be encouraged to travel to these areas in light of the recent events. I very much hope that the appropriate agencies of the United States Government will immediately look into this matter.

Additionally, I understand that the wounded and other Puerto Rican survivors are people of very modest means and many have even lost their personal belongings in the holocaust. Our government should make arrangements for transportation home of all Puerto Rican Americans involved and provide extended medical care for the wounded.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, today's act is designed to thwart the whole world let alone the small nation of Israel. We simply cannot tolerate it. As men, we must find some way to deal with it. Certainly no sports event, eminent as it may be, should be allowed to stand in the way of concentrating the attention of the world on this dread calamity.

The Arab terrorists have desecrated the Olympic games concept of brotherhood. Any nation that gives them sanctuary or sympathy must be held accountable to all mankind.

Human lives are certainly more important than any sports schedule and the Olympic games schedule must yield to this overriding calamity.

The Arab terrorist action obviously seeks to intimidate the civilized world. We cannot submit to this strategy of of terror.

The distinguished majority and minority leaders have expressed the views of millions and millions of Americans, and I am honored to join them in those views.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I would like to join in